

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

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EDITORIAL

A Central Committee meeting is always an important event in the life of our organisation. The Central Committee is the ruling organ in the periods between Congresses, and it formulates the lines of orientation of FRELIMO within the principles defined by the Congress. In addition to its importance in the hierarchical structure of our organisation, the Central Committee is also important through its composition: it is made up of comrades engaged in direct action, representatives of the people—Provincial Secretaries, Political Commissars military cadres (for example, the comrade who is responsible for sabotage operations in Tete Province is a member of the Central Committee) and members elected by the people. It was this Central Committee, with its special nature and composition (delegated to it by the Second Congress of July 1968) that again met in May 1970.

The essential aspect to be underlined at this meeting was the unity revealed in the discussions and in the positions taken. In previous editorials we referred to the existence of contradictions in our midst, derived from the struggle of two ideological lines. We restated the revolutionary line—the one defined by the First and Second Congresses. We explained how the ambitious, opportunists and exploiters existent in our organisation saw their manoeuvres frustrated by the action of the revolutionary militants, who are ready to give their lives for the defence of our ideological achievements. We showed how the reactionaries are being gradually rejected by the Revolution.

The spirit which prevailed at the latest meeting of the Central Committee revealed that we have already reached an advanced phase in that process of purifying our ranks. Frankness reigned—there was friendship and revolutionary fraternity among all members. The climate that we felt was the result of the ideological unity that existed among us. For the first time in the history of FRELIMO, there were no discordant voices in the Central Committee which where opposed to the revolutionary positions; it constituted a solid and united block.

We consider that a great victory has been achieved, one which must be preserved and defended at all costs. The Central Committee itself recommended continuous vigilance; in order that that vigilance may be efficiently exercised, the Central Committee clarified certain concepts. Thus, the Central Committee stressed its definition of the

enemy. The enemy has two faces: the principal and direct enemy, i.e. Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, which are open enemies whom we confront daily in the battlefield, and in relation to whom no doubt or confusion is possible. The other face is that of the indirect and secondary enemy, who presents himself under the cover of a nationalist and even a revolutionary, thus making it difficult to identify him. The Central Committee reaffirmed that the characterization of the enemy for us will never be derived from colour, nationality, race or religion. On the other hand, our enemy is that one who exploits or creates conditions for the exploitation of our people, whatever his colour, race, nationality or religion.

Within the same intention of providing ideological weapons to our comrades so that they may be able to better defend our Revolution, the Central Committee defined the qualities which every FRELIMO militant must build or develop in himself: continuously fighting ambition, opportunism, tribalism and corruption. The existence of a high level of these qualities will be the condition for a militant to be appointed for positions of responsibility in our organisation.

The Central Committee meeting studied and solved several problems. In general they were problems of the development of the struggle in its multiple aspects—polico-military, economic and cultural.

One of these problems concerned the centralization of leadership. The creation of the Council of Presidency in April 1969 had responded to the difficult period subsequent to the death of President Comrade Mondlane. The situation having been stabilised, that solution ceased to have validity. It became necessary to re-establish a strong direction. Within this new framework, the Central Committee elected a President and a Vice-President. The choice fell on the two comrades who, after the death of Comrade Mondlane, had in fact assumed the direction of FRELIMO, and who had fought to ensure the structural and ideological integrity of the organisation: Comrade Samora Moises Machel, elected President of FRELIMO, and Comrade Marcelino Dos Santos, elected Vice-President.

Thus, a new period is being opened in the life of FRELIMO. We took an important step forward in the consolidation of our unity, we elected a truly revolutionary leadership, we clarified our political line, we came nearer our final victory.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee of FRELIMO met from 9 to 14 May, 1970, to analyse the situation and study the problems deriving from our struggle for national liberation. The Executive Committee presented its report to the Central Committee, covering all sectors of activity of FRELIMO in the political and military field, and in the field of national reconstruction.

Our situation is characterised by the strengthening of the political consciousness of the masses and by the consolidation of our structures; by the expansion of our military actions into zones not previously covered by the armed struggle, and consolidation of the zones under FRELIMO control; and by a great impulse in the programmes of national reconstruction, within the perspective of solving the social and economic problems which are raised today in our country.

In the political plan, the most relevant aspect was the elevation of the consciousness of our people. There is today a deeper understanding of the nature of our struggle and of our goals. It is the populations who more and more actively carry out the transport of war equipment, medicines and school material; who provide food for our bases, our hospitals, our schools; who assist our fighters in the tasks of pushing forward the front lines and in the combats in which they are called to participate; it is they who actively dedicate themselves to production—namely agriculture, artisan work, fishing and animal husbandry. The separatist tendency among the populations, which had been fomented by the enemy, is

gradually disappearing—especially the tribal and religious divisions. Mozambicans of all tribes, regions and religions today fight side by side, united in the common aim. This aim is now understood no longer only as the mere conquest of national independence, but also as the establishment of a system which will make impossible the exploitation of man by man in our country. FRELIMO has become the uncontested spokesman of the masses, and any other intermediary has ceased to exist in the zones where our people used to depend on the feudal authority of the traditional chiefs. Those chiefs are integrating themselves in our structures, and respect them. The populations also speak. The most remarkable aspect of our development in this field is that even the women—traditionally limited to the domestic work and production of children—are now able to speak and express themselves freely and with authority. A new structure was established, the basis of which are Committees, through which the voices of the people are channelled.

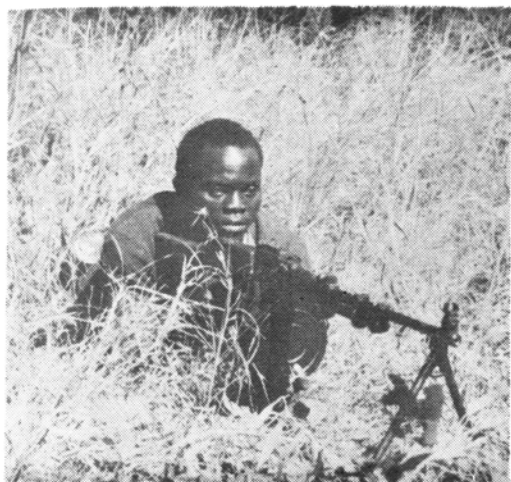
In the military plan, the situation is characterised by the intensification of our actions aimed at spreading the armed struggle to new regions and at the same time consolidating the rear bases, the liberated zones. Thus, in the war zones, the enemy is more and more isolated in his posts, as a result of the sabotage actions of our guerrillas who have cut the land communications of the enemy. Even posts that are very near each other cannot make contact among themselves except by radio and aircraft. These posts are constantly attacked and many

of them have been abandoned by the enemy. Large-scale attacks against some posts have allowed us to launch assaults and capture war material. Hundreds of military vehicles were destroyed and thousands of enemy soldiers were killed in our ambushes and mining actions. Our guerrillas advanced into new zones.

An extremely important aspect to be stressed is that our military victories were due to our successes in political work, which drew more tightly the harmonious relations between the people and the guerrillas and, in the military structure, between the Commanders and the rank and file. We face several problems, such as lack of political commissars—but this omission is made up for by the Detachment Commanders, who act as political workers in their zones. The infractions of our fighters towards the populations are severely punished. But the important fact is that the populations know how to differentiate between individual behaviour and the principles of the Organisation. However, the most important victory we have achieved cannot be measured in numbers—how many soldiers we killed, how many square kilometers we control. It can be evaluated by the new system of life under which the people live. Exploitation no longer exists in the liberated zones; the causes of the evils which characterize the colonial society—thefts, drunkenness, prostitution (in short, corruption), crimes—are being gradually removed. A new society, strong and

healthy, is being born in Mozambique. The people want and are building this society.

The Central Committee analysed the different activities which serve to integrate our ideological and material NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, and formulated lines of orientation. The Central Committee noted that great progress is being made in production, namely agricultural production. Our people are fulfilling successfully the recommendations of the II Congress of FRELIMO which stated: "It is necessary for us to produce progressively the material goods we need for the growth of our armed struggle. We should promote the development of agriculture, industry, cottage industries, always directing our activities towards the meeting of the interests of our people's revolution" The extension of fields under cultivation has grown and has reached the advanced zones themselves where the military actions, and especially air-bombings, are more frequent. Our people produce enough for themselves, to help in feeding the guerrillas and in creating a surplus which is exchanged in the trading centres of FRELIMO for necessary articles which cannot yet be produced in Mozambique, such as clothing. This activity of production is carried out jointly by the population and the guerrillas in a spirit of close collaboration. On the other hand, production has become more scientific and diversified: not only the traditional crops are grown, but new products and new methods of cultivation



Waiting in ambush



Peasant speaking at a public meeting

have been introduced.

Artisan work is also developing. It is here that the creative and inventive capacity of our people has manifested itself in great strength; for example, with the metal of destroyed cars and undetonated bombs, our people make agricultural tools, domestic utensils, home-made guns, etc. The artistic sense of the people is also being encouraged: cooperatives of sculptors were organised for the production of the world-famous Makonde sculptures.

Education is experiencing a great impetus. In Tete, we have already 6 schools, with others in the process of being established. The main problem for the opening of new schools is the lack of teachers, but this problem will be solved by utilizing those comrades who may have only 2nd or 3rd year primary class to teach those who are just starting. It was in this way that our educational programmes started in the other two Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. In Niassa, we stressed specifically the opening of a boarding-school with 100 students, with 1st and 2nd year primary classes, and where at the same time a programme of uplifting the cultural and political level of the teachers is being taught. In Cabo Delgado, 4 more boarding schools were opened; special rapid courses of adult education were introduced for FRELIMO militants; pedagogic seminars were organised for the teachers, where they are instructed in the subjects they must teach, methods of teaching, the

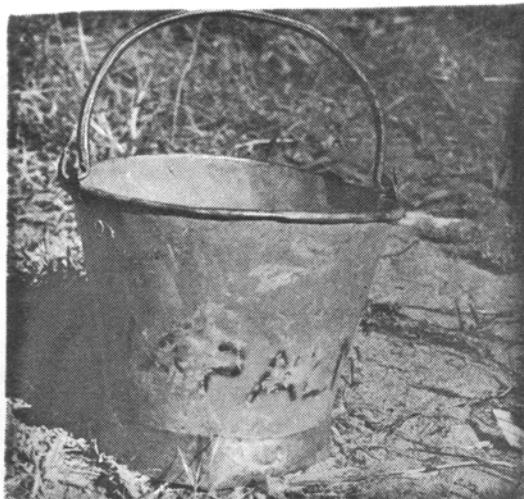
organisation of educational programmes, etc. Our secondary school is in the process of being re-opened in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. In Tunduru, Southern Tanzania, we have a pilot primary school with hundreds of students. The intensification of our educational programmes corresponds to the need for the formation of cadres able to carry out the different tasks which are constantly widening with the development of the struggle. Thus, particular attention is being given to the establishment of special technical courses in our secondary school, and to the adaptation of educational programmes to the concrete realities of the struggle. The women are encouraged to participate. In all provinces there are adult education programmes for the people. In addition, we are studying the means whereby FRELIMO students abroad can be constantly informed about the evolution of the struggle and integrated within the orientation of the revolution.

The activities of **medical assistance** to the people and the guerrillas follow the development of the struggle. New clinic centres were established in the new zones covered by the war. However, we are experiencing great difficulties in this field, due to lack of medicines and qualified cadres.

Analysing the situation of **FRELIMO in the exterior**, the Central Committee noted that the international solidarity with our struggle is broadening. This solidarity was momentarily affected by the confusion caused by the desertion



Villager and guerrilla cultivating



Bucket made from unexploded bomb

of some reactionary elements in the leadership of FRELIMO, like Lazaro Kavandame and Uria Simango. However, the continuation of our work and the development of the struggle, more than any propaganda action from FRELIMO, re-established external confidence and support. The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the assistance rendered to FRELIMO by the African Countries, both individually and through the OAU, and by the socialist countries is now established on firm bases. The Central Committee appreciated also the activities of the progressive forces from some Western countries in support of our struggle. In three of these countries—Sweden, Great Britain and Italy—the action of the progressive forces, together with the pressure from friendly African Governments, forced those countries to withdraw from participation in the Cahora Bassa Dam which, by its political, economic and military importance, constitute a symbol of the internationalisation of imperialist aggression against the peoples of Southern Africa. The meaning and importance of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, which will be held at the end of June, 1970, in Rome, Italy, was hailed by the Central Committee, which expressed the hope that the Conference will result in a truly stronger material and moral support for our struggle.

The activities of the Mozambique Institute were the object of particular attention by the Committee. The

Central Committee praised the Director of the Mozambique Institute for the important action carried out in the gaining of funds and technical assistance for our work in the fields of Health, Education, Social Welfare, Information, and Aid for Development. The Central Committee noted that the results of this work have contributed on a large scale to the betterment of the living conditions of our people, and encouraged the Mozambique Institute to continue with its work.

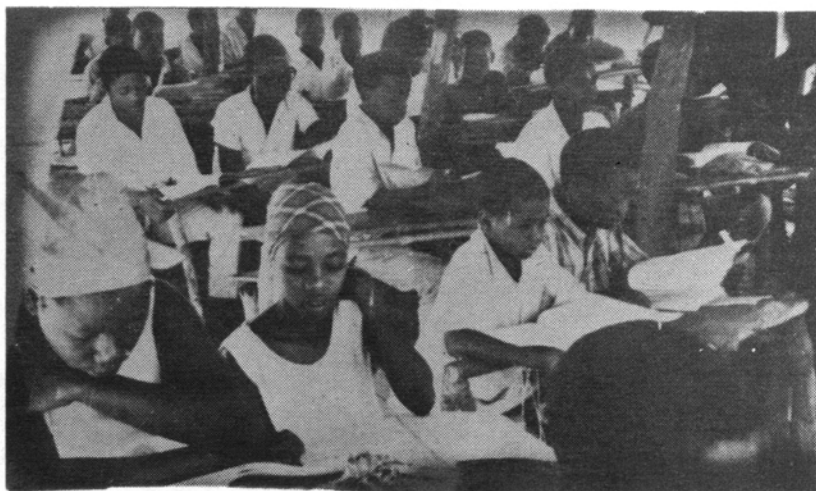
II

The Central Committee noted that parallel to this development of our liberation struggle, the struggle of two lines in our midst, as old as FRELIMO itself, continued. The Central Committee studied deeply the problem of internal contradictions, which is intimately linked with the development of the struggle for liberation.

The Central Committee, taking up the orientation of its previous meeting of April 1969, analysed the origin of the contradictions in FRELIMO, which go as far back as the time of its creation. At that time the main contradiction was based on the difference of conception concerning the methods to achieve independence: some Mozambicans, looking at the example of other African countries idealised the realisation of independence in the halls of the UN, in talks, negotiations, which would have as their ultimate



At a clinic centre



A primary boarding school

result the handing of independence by the Portuguese Government to FRELIMO in a solemn ceremony, with feasts and celebrations. When it became clear that that method had failed, and the recognition of the necessity of the armed struggle took a more concrete shape, those Mozambicans who were not psychologically prepared for an armed struggle (and who were the majority of the founding members of FRELIMO) deserted the organization.

The preparations for the armed struggle were made, and in September 1964 the armed struggle for liberation started. New contradiction appeared, now based on different conceptions of the strategy to be followed: a group within FRELIMO defended the thesis that we should organize ourselves for a war of conquest, join all our forces in one place, expel the Portuguese from that place and continue advancing, enlarging that army by driving new populations into the advance until the South of Mozambique is reached. The Portuguese colonial army would be defeated in that way. This conception was related with the idea of a rapid war. And in fact it was on that basis that those elements organized the populations: soon after the first shots were heard, many people went to the shops to buy new clothes to celebrate Independence. The comrades who were conscious of the forces ranged against us fought that conception, and defended the need to organise ourselves for a guerilla war which would be necessarily protracted and hard, but which nevertheless was

the only way to lead us to victory. The Mozambicans who did not understand or did not conform to this strategy, with the perspective of the difficulties inherent to a guerilla war, were gradually rejected by the struggle.

At the end of 1965, we started to organize the life of the populations in the liberated zones. Contradictions of a new type appeared, based on different conceptions concerning the goals of our struggle, and about the economic, political and social systems to be established in our country. Some Mozambicans conceived it as a simple change of persons in the colonial structure; after the Portuguese were expelled, Mozambicans would take their place, the colonial politico-administrative machine being kept intact. Exploitation, oppression and all the negative aspects of the colonial system would therefore remain—only now performed by Mozambicans. This tendency was at that time personified by Lazaro Kavandame, allied to other elements in the Organization who, however, did not dare to show themselves openly. With the passing of time, other conceptions related to this one manifested themselves: for example elitism represented by Mateus Gwenjere, who defended the creation of a group of intellectuals who should be exempt from participating in the struggle and surrounded with special privileges—who, after Independence had been won, would be installed as the leaders of free Mozambique. This reactionary tendency also had its own strategic



The Director of the M.I., Mrs. Janet Mondlane



Support for FRELIMO

conception: according to them, we should bring all our forces who were fighting in the different provinces, concentrate them in one Province, and expel all Portuguese from that Province. They proposed that we start with Cabo Delgado, alleging that that was the Province where the war was most developed, but the real reason being that that was the Province where economic activities were under Lazaro's administration. Our forces would then advance to another Province—and thus successively gain our end. Analysing the real intentions of the group that defended that strategy—which is absolutely incorrect given the conditions of our struggle—we see that they did not conform with the perspective of a protracted war, but wanted to reap immediately the fruits of the revolution through full exploitation, without difficulties deriving from the war. The revolutionary line opposed strongly that orientation, clearly defining the aims of our revolution: achievement of national Independence, destruction of the colonial system, and establishment of a regime based on the people, for the people. The principal means of combat used by the revolutionary comrades was the action of mobilisation and explanation of the people. The people learned how to know clearly who their enemy was—the enemy being defined as whoever in a certain moment practises the exploitation of man by man and whatever the methods and forms that exploitation takes.

The reactionary forces organized a campaign in the exterior aimed at discrediting FRELIMO: their purpose was to cause the fall of the revolutionary leadership, represented by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, and to put into power their elements. Thus, for example, they attacked the FRELIMO office in May 1968, killing a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Mateus Muthemba.

In July 1968, the Second Congress of FRELIMO met. The reactionaries had placed great hopes in this Congress, and attempted manoeuvres so that President Mondlane would be defeated in the elections. However, the work of revolutionary politisation of our comrades had not been in vain: the people re-elected unanimously Comrade Eduardo Mondlane as President of FRELIMO.

Frustrated in their designs, the

reactionary group resorted again to criminal methods, murdering in December 1968 Comrade Samuel Kankhomba, Deputy-Chief of the Section of Operations of the Defence Department.

In February 1969, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated. The hopes of the ambitious, the corrupt and the opportunist were re-born. The appointment as Acting President of Uria Simango by the Executive Committee satisfied them completely: that appointment meant the realisation of their hopes.

In April 1969, the Central Committee of FRELIMO met. The Central Committee refused to confirm Uria Simango as President, and created a collective organ to assume the functions of the presidency. From that historical meeting of the Central Committee, Uria Simango, the man who in fact had always been the principal leader and organizer of the reactionary group, but keeping himself always camouflaged behind the scenes, started to show openly his true nature, his real character and intentions.

The Central Committee of April 1969 had accused him of being linked with Lazaro Kavandame, Mateus Gwenjere and all the groups who have provoked the periods of confusion in the life of FRELIMO since its formation. The motivation of Simango was political ambition. He was a small man—physically, intellectually, morally—whose dream had always been to ascend to the height of that one who was his President. Not being able to face Comrade Mondlane, he entered into collusion with all forces that could be used against the President's leadership. The goal of Simango, his ultimate dream, has always been to be President, the "top leader". He linked himself with Lazaro because he saw in Lazaro a force able to help him achieve his aims. Simango was led by political ambition. Lazaro Kavandame basically by economic ambition, he wanted to be left free to exploit the people. And so they combined their interests, promising reciprocal assistance.

The defeat of Simango's aspirations for the presidency in the Central Committee of April 1969 did not make him abandon his ambition. But since he had already been denoun-

ced and unmasked, he did not care to camouflage his actions any longer: he started to act openly, trying to project himself as the top leader of FRELIMO, contrary to the decisions of the Central Committee. He took advantage of FRELIMO's activities in the exterior, using the various missions that the Organisation entrusted to him. In the interior, Simango was always unknown to the people. Even in the exterior, his campaign did not give results: the true militants of FRELIMO were careful to neutralize him, by interpreting exactly and correctly the decisions of the Central Committee. Thus, isolated, frustrated in his ambitions, Uria Simango tried in November 1969 a desperate gesture: he published a pamphlet, in the exterior, where he demanded that the other leaders of FRELIMO be dismissed as a condition for him to stay in the Organization. The Executive Committee met in order to consider his "demand", and decided to suspend Uria Simango from membership of the Council of Presidency until the next meeting of the Central Committee, where his case would be brought for final consideration.

The Central Committee, meeting from 9th—14th May 1970, having analysed the political, moral and disciplinary behaviour of Uria Simango, which is characterised by opportunism, corruption and irresponsibility, concluded that he does not possess the qualities even to be a member of FRELIMO, and decided to expel him from the Organization.

The analysis of the nature of the contradictions and of the way they have been solved throughout the life of FRELIMO, always resulting in the victory of the popular and revolutionary forces, allowed the Central Committee to conclude that the orientation of FRELIMO is basically correct, and has been correctly applied.

It was this orientation, whose fundamental principles were formulated by the First and Second Congress of FRELIMO, as well as through the presence of cadres with high political consciousness, that allowed FRELIMO to emerge victorious and stronger from the multiple crises that assailed her, provoked by the action of the internal and external enemy. And it is this

orientation that is the guarantee that the revolution will continue for ever, beyond the persons who in a certain moment are leading her: because unity in FRELIMO is based not upon individuals, but founded on common objective — National Independence and end of exploitation of man by man.



1. The Central Committee approved various resolutions, formulating directives for political and military activities, and for the work of national reconstruction.

2. A special resolution on sanctions was passed. The Central Committee took disciplinary measures against Uria Timoteo Simango, Lourenco Mutaca and Judas Honwana, respectively former member of the Council of the Presidency, and former FRELIMO representatives in Sweden and the United Arab Republic.

a) Concerning Uria Simango, it was recognised that he had already been suspended from membership of the Council of the Presidency by the Executive Committee following a pamphlet he published against FRELIMO in November, 1969. The Executive Committee based its decision primarily on the fact that the action of Uria Simango, that of presenting his problems through the external press instead of doing it through the proper structures of FRELIMO, was an extremely irresponsible act which violated the principles and the rules of FRELIMO and constituted a grave act of indiscipline; that the contents of the pamphlet were a body of calumnious accusations, of insults and of falsities, aimed at denigrating the leaders of FRELIMO who are truly nationalists, patriots and revolutionaries, and that the pamphlet constituted an insult to the Mozambican people, to FRELIMO and to the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation being waged in our country. The Central Committee ratified the decision of the Executive Committee, and removed Uria Simango from the Council of Presidency. Furthermore, the Central Committee noted that in that very pamphlet, as well as in some others he wrote later, Simango

clearly admitted his connections with counter-revolutionary groups such as those of Lazaro Kavandame and Mateus Gwenjere, thus confirming what for a long time we already suspected: that he had always been the leader of the counter-revolutionary groups who provoked the periods of crisis in the life of FRELIMO since its formation, he being led by ambition and opportunism. The Central Committee therefore decided to remove him from membership of the Central Committee, and expel him from our Organisation. The Central Committee decided further that Simango should be submitted to the people's justice in Mozambique.

b) Concerning Lourenco Mutaca, and Judas Honwana they launched destructive campaigns from outside, aimed at the disintegration of our Organisation and destruction of its international prestige. Thus they betrayed the confidence entrusted in them by the Mozambican people, who had appointed them as their representatives. The Central Committee qualified their attitude as high treason, and expelled both of them from FRELIMO. The Central Committee also decided that they should be brought to Mozambique, to be tried by the people.

IV

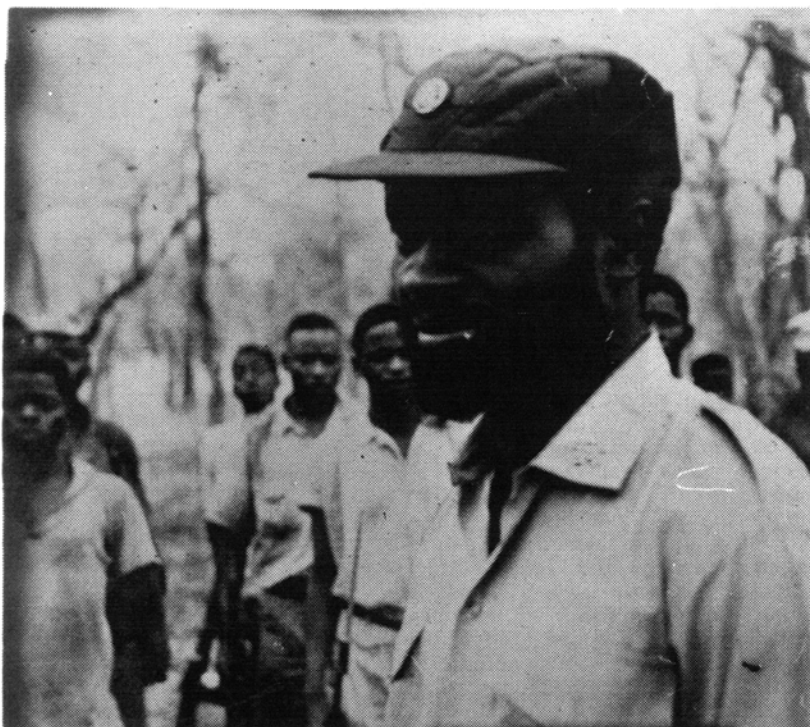
The Central Committee approved a special resolution on the structures of our Organisation. In April, 1969, the Central Committee attributed the functions of the Presidency to a collective body, the Council of the Presidency. This decision corresponded to a period of crisis in the Organisation, or more concretely, to the need to ensure the continuity of the political line of FRELIMO in the period of confusion that followed the death of President Mondlane. The Central Committee noted that the reasons which had called for that solution ceased to exist, and that it was now possible and desirable to centralise the direction more strongly.

Thus, the Central Committee elected Comrade SAMORA MOISES MACHEL as acting President of FRELIMO, and Comrade MARCELINO DOS SANTOS as acting Vice-President, until the next Congress.

22 May, 1970



Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President



Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President



16 June 1960 - 1970

THE MASSACRE OF MUEDA

Exactly 10 years ago, the Portuguese colonialists perpetrated one more criminal act against our people, massacring several hundred Mozambican patriots in the township of Mueda. To a certain extent, that even marked an important point in the awakening of the Mozambican nationalism, and brought about real awareness of the impracticability of negotiating with the Portuguese, and therefore the inevitability of the armed struggle for national independence. Comrade Alberto Joaquim Chipande, who is today the Deputy Chief-Commander of the Mozambique People's Armed Forces and member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, was in the front ranks of the people of Mueda, on that 16th of June. He was then a school teacher. This is what he tells of his experience:

"That event of the 16th of June had antecedents during the several preceding months. It began with the sending of a delegation by the Mozambican nationalists exiled in Tanzania to Mueda, at the beginning of 1960, a time when Tanganyika was in the process of achieving her Independence. The Mozambicans who, through political circumstances had been forced to leave Mozambique and seek refuge in Tanganyika, had formed here nationalist organisations—the Mozambique African National Union (MANU), from the Makonde African Union. Those organisations, encouraged by the approaching independence of Tanganyika, decided to enter into negotiations with the Portuguese authorities for the independence of Mozambique. They sent a first delegation, headed by Faustino Vanomba, to

present to the Portuguese Administrator of Mueda the demand of the Mozambican people. The meeting with the Administrator, Alves Delgado, took place, the demand was presented, but the Administrator refused to take it into consideration and sent the delegation away.

About one month later, MANU sent another delegation, now headed by Tiago Mula. The reaction of the Administrator this time was different: he arrested our comrades and sent them to Porto Amelia, from where they were taken to the prisons of Lourenco Marques. In April 1960, another delegation of seven arrived in Mueda, headed by Simao Mchusa and Modesta. They went to the Administrator, and explained the reason for their presentation: to negotiate with the Por-

tuguese authorities the independence of Mozambique. They were also arrested and taken to Porto Amelia.

Faced with this situation, the two nationalist organizations decided to send a joint delegation, composed of the top leaders of both organizations. They believed that in this way they would succeed in convincing the Portuguese authorities to attend to their demand. The Administrator again agreed to listen to them, but declined to give an immediate answer. Instead, he informed the Governor of the District in Porto Amelia about the situation and asked for instructions. The instructions came: the Governor himself would come to Mueda, to "address the people" and this meeting would take place on the 16th. This information was transmitted to our comrades Kibiriti and Vanomba, who went to stay with their friends waiting for that day.

Meanwhile the Administrator of Mueda was sending messengers to all villages of his area, telling the people that they should be in Mueda on the 16th, to listen to the words of the Governor. Nothing was said about the subject on which the Governor would speak—but as the people knew that his visit was related to the demand made by Vanomba and Kibiriti, everybody believed there would be discussion of the problems of the nation, independence would be negotiated—and the people prepared enthusiastically for that day. From all parts of the area of Mueda people began to move towards the administrative headquarters. Some walked for three days. Already on the day before the meeting, the 15th, Mueda Headquarters was full of people. It was an immense crowd. Early in the morning of June 16th, everybody began emerging from the houses and proceeding to the Administration Headquarters. Assembling for the meeting lasted the whole morning. By noon the whole place around the Administration building was packed with people.

At about 2.00 p.m. the Governor of the District arrived, accompanied by other members of the Government, administrative and ecclesiastic personnel as well as businessmen. The excitement of the people grew. The idea of independence had entered every mind—in fact we were convinced that the Governor had just come to announce when and where the transfer of power to the representatives of the Mozambican people would take place. When the Governor arrived, the ceremony of hoisting the flag and singing the Portuguese anthem took place. The Governor ordered silence, and that everybody should stand up. Nobody obeyed, the noise increased and everybody continued to remain seated. Portuguese police-

men played their cornets, ordering to stand at attention, but nobody obeyed. The Governor ordered that the flag be lowered and hoisted again. Again nobody took notice of the orders given.

After that "ceremony", the Governor addressed the people, saying: "I am satisfied with the work of the people, and for this year the Government has plans to increase the economic development of our country. The most important thing will be the increase of the price of your products—cashewnuts will be bought at X escudos, maize at Y escudos..... (and he went on listing the prices).

The people, feeling deceived, reacted against this speech by interrupting him and saying: "It is not your function to talk about these things, those subjects are dealt with by the Administrator. You must talk with Kibiriti and Faustino, who are your colleagues and our representatives. You must discuss with them the matters that interest us all." Unable to continue his speech, the Governor withdrew into the Administration building and sent for our comrades Vanomba and Kibiriti. Those entered the building. The people waited impatiently. About 15 minutes lasted the talk of the Governor with our comrades. Then they emerged from the offices and the Governor told the people: "I was talking to Kibiriti and Vanomba, and was informed on what you want. Is there anyone who wants to come here and repeat the demand made by those two?". Immediately hundreds of us stood up—but the Governor selected only 10 who were allowed to enter the building. Some policemen approached and put hand-cuffs on Kibiriti and Vanomba. Other policemen were ordered to beat the 10 Mozambicans. All this was done before the eyes of the assembled crowd. When they

saw this, the people reacted. When those who had been arrested were being taken to the Jeep, the people advanced. Armed policemen placed themselves in front, forming a barrier. They had guns, with fixed bayonets. The people did not care and continued to move forward, some towards the Jeep that was supposed to take the arrested people away, and others towards the Governor himself. Afraid, the Governor tried to run away, but was caught by us. We started beating him up. At that moment the police fired on us. They did not shoot into the air—but directly on us. I saw my comrades falling down at my side. The people started retreating and running away. The firing did not stop, on the contrary, it increased. The policemen shot the people who were running away. At that moment troops arrived, who had come from Porto Amelia escorting the Governor. They took positions on the northwest side of the Administration building and also started shooting. We were caught between two lines of fire, hundreds of people fell, I don't know exactly how many. I escaped by pure chance. I saw myself running over dead bodies until I arrived near a grave, about 50 metres away from the Administration. It was the grave of a Major who was killed in Negomano in the Second World War. I camouflaged behind it and looked at what was going on. I could see the whole scene. The shooting lasted for about five minutes. I saw things I shall never be able to forget. For example, under the Jeep there were some people who had taken refuge there. I saw the Portuguese police putting their guns under the vehicle and shoot and kill them all—one by one. Also, I saw the troops throwing grenades into the middle of the crowd.

Only when all Mozambicans had either fallen or run away out of sight, did the shooting stop. I remained behind the grave, hiding. I saw the priests who accompanied the Governor come forward and baptize the dying and assist the wounded.

Then a lorry arrived, some policemen climbed into it, taking with them as prisoners Kibiriti, Vanomba and the other 10 nationalists. I took advantage of that moment when they were getting into the lorry and ran away. When I arrived at the shopping area further away, I saw the people gathered again. Many were talking about returning and settling accounts with the Governor. But we were also aware that we would not have more success this time; we still had no weapons. Meanwhile we saw four Jeeps passing on the main road, with the prisoners: Kibiriti and Vanomba were taken to Mocimboa da Praia, the other ten to Montepuez.

The following days, during many days, heavy army and police patrols



Comrade Alberto Joaquim Chipande

continued in the area—nobody was allowed to go to the Administration.

Two weeks later a "Commission of Inquiry" arrived. It was composed only of whites. They questioned some people, and went away."

This series of events which culminated in the massacre of several hundreds of Mozambican patriots in Mueda, revealed the will and determination of our

people to be free and independent, and their fighting spirit. At the same time, these events also showed the falsity of the argument the Portuguese use to justify their domination of us: that they are "civilising" our people, that we are "happy" to be ruled by them, that we are "part of the Portuguese nation". The opposition of our people to that conception is well evident in the attack against the Governor.

That attitude of our people against

the highest representative of the Portuguese Government is symbolic. It is that very sentiment that inspires today the FRELIMO guerrillas who ambush enemy units and destroy Portuguese posts.

Thus, the 16th of June ceased to be a day when the dead of Mueda are mourned—to become instead a day when opposition and fight without truce against the system that killed them is reaffirmed.



Portuguese fulfilling his civilising mission

If you ask me
who I am
with that face of yours
seared by marks of evil
and a sinister smile

I'll tell you nothing
I'll tell you nothing

I'll show you the scars of centuries
which furrow my black back
I'll look at you with eyes of hatred
shot red with blood, shed through the years
I'll show you my hut of grass
falling into disrepair
I'll take you to the plantations
where from dawn to dusk
I bend over the soil
as the torturous work
racks my body

I'll take you to the fields full of people
breathing misery every hour

I'll tell you nothing
I'll just show you this

And then
I'll show you the fallen bodies of my people
treacherously gunned down,
huts burned, by your people

I'll tell you nothing
but you will know why I fight.

Armando Guebuza



WAR

COMMUNIQUE



Our people characterise our military situation and define the strategy by referring to the African saying that goes, "To kill a snake in its hole, don't put your hand inside it: pour in hot water and the snake will come out—then kill it". The Portuguese are isolated in their posts, in their "holes". We create conditions so that they are forced to come out—by cutting communications and thus their supplies, by harassing them constantly, etc. Once they are out, more vulnerable, we attack and annihilate them. In this way, during the past few months in the three fronts of the armed struggle, we killed more than 600 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 105 military vehicles, attacked 11 posts and "strategic hamlets", destroyed one train and two bridges, and captured war material.

Those statistics on our victories, although important, cannot convey the full scope of our struggle, are not the most relevant aspect of our work: in fact, those military victories were only possible due to the great successes we achieved in the political field. During the past months the level of political consciousness of our people has grown remarkably, as a result of the intense work of mobilisation and education on the part of our political commissaires. Up to now, the major participation of the populations in the struggle was limited to the defense of their zones, and to the transportation of material, the supply of food to the military bases and the provision of information on the movements of the enemy. Today the populations also participate actively in the offensive activities; the militias fight side by side with the guerrillas in the attacks. All the problems of the development of the struggle are discussed jointly by the guerrillas and the populations. On the other hand,

the guerrillas also participate actively in all the tasks of national reconstruction. Thus the distinction between the military and civilians becomes less and less discernable—the participation in the struggle becomes global, the enemy is more and more isolated. Another result of our political work, which at the same time is a sign of the rise of the political consciousness of our people, is the constant fleeing of the people from the strategic hamlets to the liberated zones. The people reveal that in the zones still controlled by the Portuguese the classic methods of repression and exploitation are widely continued—corporal punishment (such as whipping and the "palmatoria"), forced labour (to produce food for the Portuguese soldiers, to pay taxes, etc.), tortures, assassinations, etc. In Free Mozambique our work continues for the construction of a society free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

MILITARY REPORT

TETE

Attacks

2nd January—post of Phewa: 7 of the enemy garrison were killed. 27th January—post of Chitiri: several buildings were damaged and 5 Portuguese soldiers killed. 3rd February—on the first anniversary of the assassination of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO fighters paid homage to their late President by launching a big attack against the enemy post of Makuyo. Eight houses and 13 colonialist soldiers were wiped out. 8th March—post of Mpata: 3 vehicles were destroyed, the post was badly damaged. 22nd March—post of Kanhende: several houses damaged and a number of enemy soldiers put out of action.

Ambushes

20th January—An enemy platoon entered our zone in Chiduma. FRELIMO guerrillas ambushed them, killing 4 and forcing the remainder to retreat. 22nd January—An ambush by our guerrillas caused the death of 7 Portuguese soldiers in Bene region. 24th January—We attacked an enemy unit on the road Furancungo-Cazula. Five colonialist soldiers were killed. 20th March—Enemy troops moving from Bene to Manje were ambushed. Six were killed.

Sabotage

December 1969—3, 7, 9, 15, 16 and 29. In the zones of Vila Gamito to Furancungo, and Cussarara to Vila Gamito: 11 vehicles were blown up and 36 soldiers killed. January 1970—1st (twice), 3, 4 (twice), 5 (twice), 10, 11, 15, 20 (twice), 24, 25, and 19. In Chagulula, Chalembana, Chilisse, Cazula, Tete, Ichaimba, Fingoe, Zumbo, Oliveira, Chicoo, Bene, Dique, Vila Gamito and Furancungo: 27 vehicles were destroyed, 122 Portuguese soldiers were killed. February—1st, 2, 3, (twice), 6, 16, 18, 20 (twice) and 22. In Dique, Bene, Manje, Chivuta, Fingoe, Colane, Chalambane, Sinyano and Vila Gamito: 13 lorries were destroyed, 66 Portuguese soldiers killed. March—2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 20. In the zones of Malewera, Piri-Piri, Fingoe, Muzi, Chaumba, Vila Gamito, Furancungo, Cazula and Chiuta: 14 vehicles destroyed, 74 enemy killed.

NIASSA

Attacks

27th February—Post of Unango: 17 Portuguese killed and 2 houses destroyed. 3rd April—Post of Candulo: 4

houses were destroyed and 3 lorries blown up. 29th April—Post of Candulo attacked again: Two more houses badly damaged, and several soldiers put out of action.

Ambushes

10th January—An enemy group was ambushed in Mataca. Four Portuguese were killed and several wounded. 11 February—Our fighters attacked and destroyed a train on the railway between Nova Guarda and Catur. 12th March—10 Portuguese soldiers were killed in an ambush on the road between Revia and Rofino.

Sabotage

January—18, 20, 21: 5 vehicles were destroyed and 22 Portuguese soldiers were killed, in the zones of Maua, Luitize, Mtelele and Catur. February 4, 14: 3 lorries were destroyed and 26 soldiers killed in the zones of Catur and Nova Freixo—Mecanhelas, March-9, 15, 19, 21 and 27: 29 Portuguese soldiers were killed and 5 lorries destroyed in the zones of Luitize, Mtelele, Luis, Vila Cabral and Maniamba. On the 1st and 13th: FRELIMO sabotage units destroyed 2 bridges, in Lualezi (between Vila Cabral and Maniamba) and in Lualaba (between Maniamba and Metangula).

CABO DELGADO

Attacks

25th January—Post of Nhica: 7 of the enemy were killed and a portion of the post destroyed. 1st March—strategic hamlet of Nyankoma, near the administrative post of Mwaguide, attacked and assaulted: fourteen of the enemy were wiped out and many people freed. We captured the following material: two G-3 guns, 10 rifles "Mauser", 2 boxes of ammunition cal. 7.9, 1 box of grenades, blankets, uniforms, plates, money, etc. 22nd March—Post of Diaca: 5 houses were destroyed.

Ambushes

2 and 3 February—2 Portuguese marching units were ambushed in the zone of Nangade, suffering 10 dead. 19th February—an ambush against an enemy patrol in Mueda resulted in the death of 2 Portuguese soldiers. 22 April—an enemy platoon which had ventured from its post (Mwaguide) was ambushed. Three Portuguese were killed; we captured a gun cal. 7.92 mm, No. 2673. The other Portuguese soldiers fled back to the post. 28th April—An enemy group left their post at Diaca and was ambushed. Three of them were killed and their weapons captured. The weapons were "Mauser" rifles with the following markings: E 13626 Werke AG; 5604 Mod. 98; 8180 Mod. 98. 2nd May—Two lorries out of a convoy of

six, were destroyed in an ambush on the road between Chai and Macomia. Eight Portuguese soldiers were killed. 9th May—A convoy of three vehicles going from Sagal to Mueda was ambushed. The rear lorry was badly damaged and three Portuguese soldiers were killed.

Sabotage

January—21, 23, on the roads Diaca-Mocimboa da Praia, and Palma-Pundahar: 3 lorries destroyed, 17 of the enemy killed. February—8, 15, 18, 19, 24 in Mocimboa da Praia, Mueda, Sagal, Diaca, Litanda-Ntongo, Nangololo and Couveque: 9 vehicles and 50 Portuguese soldiers were wiped out. March—13, 18, 23, 25 and 27: in the zones of Couveque and Mueda 9 vehicles destroyed and 38 soldiers killed. April—21: six Portuguese soldiers were killed when their lorry fell into a trap on the road between Diaca and Mocimboa da Praia. The people had dug a big hole on the road, setting mines inside, and camouflaged it. When a convoy was passing from Ntandola to Mocimboa, the front lorry fell in the hole and was completely destroyed by the mines. May—2nd, on the road Mueda—Miteda: two vehicles were destroyed, 11 Portuguese soldiers killed and ammunition, grenades, magazines for G-3 automatic rifles, medicines and wrist-watches were captured.





ATAQUE!

A FIGHTER REPORTS

"The Chief of our base, which is in the advanced zone, organized a reconnaissance group to go and reconnoitre the strategic hamlet of Neguru, in the region of Ancuabe. Those comrades left the base towards Neguru. About two weeks later they returned with the results of their mission. Their report stated that the situation was favourable for a large-scale attack. According to the orientation followed in FRELIMO—namely for each action, in every sector of activity, to define exactly **what are our targets**, what our objectives—the comrades defined the main objective as being the liberation of the people who were imprisoned in that so-called "protected hamlet".

Before launching the attack, the commander of the base sent another group to make a new reconnaissance. When comparing the reports of the first and second group, the commander saw that they corresponded and that therefore the reconnaissance had been correctly done.

The commander ordered that preparations be made, that groups be organised and equipment assembled for a

large-scale attack. We left our base, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the hamlet some days later. As we were very tired, we decided to rest for one day, also to get everything ready and make the final plan for the operation. At night we moved up closely to the targets, which had been previously defined and assigned to each of us. At 4 a.m. our Commander ordered fire. After shooting for some time against our targets, we advanced further. We cut the barbed wire that surrounded the village and entered it. In spite of the enemy's resistance, we suffered no casualties. This was mainly due to the fact that we knew the terrain and the location of the houses (thanks to the reconnaissance made previously). When the Portuguese soldiers noticed that they could not stop our advance, they fled to the bush, thus facilitating our quick progression. Once in full control of the hamlet, we started registering the people who were there imprisoned. At the same time, other comrades organized the transport of all the material that could be of use for our people in the liberated areas. Afterwards we all returned to our base, after having burnt

the whole hamlet.

The number of people freed was 130. Thus our objective—to liberate the people—had been fully accomplished.

The combat was very fierce. However, as I already said, we had no casualties. After the attack the Commander inspected his fighters and found that nobody was missing; only two of us had been wounded, but could walk and in fact went marching until the base.

All the people were happy about the freedom gained. Among the 130 Mozambicans there were some youths in school age, who had been submitted to forced labour in the "protected hamlet". They were now placed in the FRELIMO boarding schools. Most of the adult males asked to be trained and be given weapons to fight and thus take revenge on the ill-treatment received from the colonialists. Many women were received into the homes of other families, with whom they are now living and participating in the tasks of national reconstruction. Some of the freed families decided to establish themselves in the areas, participating in production.

That is the story of one of the actions in which I participated."

THE ROME CONFERENCE

27 - 29 june 1970

The great victories won by peoples of the Portuguese colonies have created a new situation in which the Portuguese colonialism has lost strategic initiative and has been forced into a defensive position. To counteract this situation, the Portuguese colonialism has progressively resorted to internationalization of the aggression against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Thus, Portugal can wage three colonial wars only because Western countries, especially NATO member countries, give massive political, military and financial support to the Portuguese fascist colonial government. On the other hand, imperialist action is not limited to the supply of military hardware and financial aid. Many examples in the world—Vietnam and Indo-China as a whole are a case in point, show that imperialism does not hesitate to intervene directly by sending troops.

To imperialism, Southern Africa is of course no exception. This is so true that the support Western powers give to Portuguese as well as South Africa and Rhodesia is not merely incidental. It is determined by the general imperialistic policy towards Southern Africa, a policy which tries to impose supremacy of white minority in the Southern part of our continent. To maintain and consolidate the white minority regimes appears, therefore, as the political solution imperialism adopted to preserve a system of domination and exploitation of men and of the riches of Southern Africa and to retain military bases in this region. Everything indicates that the interventionist tendency of imperialism will become more and more pronounced. Prove of this is the fact that at this very moment we are fighting not only Portuguese but also South African soldiers in Mozambique. It is therefore important that we carefully consider this tendency in its true perspective so that we can devise methods of fighting the enemy at this phase of internationalization of aggression. From this moment when colonialist aggression tends to take on international proportions, it is imperative that the anti-colonial struggle also become international. The great solidarity movement with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies which is developing in the world shows that the progres-

sive forces are well aware of this phenomenon of our time. The Khartoum Conference in support of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies was an event of historical importance in the context of the development of the solidarity movement. Today it is necessary to take further steps forward.

The joint action of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and the peoples of the world against Portuguese colonialism and its allies must be developed in such a way that it becomes an offensive force capable of weakening imperialism and of forcing it into the defensive.

Today's international climate allows the progressive forces to take such an offensive. This means that the international solidarity can become a mighty force capable of, on the one hand, giving the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies direct material support, thus allowing them to put into practice their programmes of national liberation and, on the other hand, preventing successfully the colonial fascist government of Portugal from getting any kind of support and thus nipping in the bud the interventionist tendency of imperialism. For this reason it is imperative to join all the progressive forces in a world-wide solidarity movement with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. At the same time, there is a need to organize this joint action so that an efficient coordination is established among these progressive forces.

The Rome Conference appears as the right moment to achieve these objectives. This conference must constitute an occasion to put into action a vast campaign of mobilization of world public opinion with a view to developing a mass political movement capable of serving, through a positive, well structured and coordinated action, as an insuperable barrier to imperialist aggression, and forcing Western countries to change their attitude towards the policy of the fascist colonial government of Portugal. The Rome Conference can be important in another sense, too: by showing in practice that there is identity of interests among the masses of all continents, thus contributing to the consolidation of friendship and solidarity among the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and the peoples of the world.

COMMUNIQUE

The Representatives of the three Liberation Movements MPLA, PAIGC, FRELIMO; the Mobilisation Committee set up at the Khartoum Conference and the Italian Committee of Initiative, held an international meeting in Rome on 28th April 1970 and confirmed the date of the Conference.

The items which have been proposed for discussion at the Conference are:-

1. a thorough study of the present situation in Angola, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique, and of the struggle led by the peoples of these countries in order to obtain their National Independence.

2. Problems of the liberated territories and the conditions under which they now exist;

3. juridical problems dealing with the struggle for liberation and colonialist repression;

4. political situation in Portugal and problems deriving from the assistance given to the Portuguese by some western countries;

5. Thorough study of means which have to be used in order to develop the international action of solidarity and help forward the struggle led by the peoples still under Portuguese domination.

Besides, these items are based on the 'Appeal' of the three Liberation Movements: MPLA, PAIGC, FRELIMO, which is the Manifesto of the Conference.

In order to lead a thorough study of the problems and to give an opportunity to all participants to contribute actively, there will be three Commissions during the Conference. They will be on:-

1. political mobilisation;
2. material assistance to the populations of the Portuguese colonies;
3. man's rights and juridical questions.

During the plenary sessions there will be only one general report presented on behalf of the three Liberation Movements, MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO; information reports on the struggle in Angola, Guine-Bissau and Mozambique, and on the situation in Portugal. Final reports on the discussions held by the Commissions will be submitted to a plenary session also.

United Nations Committee on Decolonisation

On the 2nd June, FRELIMO appeared before an ad hoc group of the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation. That Group was visiting Africa in order to contact the liberation movements and study with them the ways to step up the struggle against colonialism. In its presentation, FRELIMO explained to the members of the ad hoc Group the progress of the liberation struggle in Mozambique, and made concrete proposals for assistance from the UN, for development programmes of the liberated areas of Mozambique.

The following are extracts of the FRELIMO statement and proposals to the UN Committee:

"Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Delegates,

This year of 1970, the work of your Committee has a special significance.

First of all because we commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. It is an occasion when the World Community feels again the necessity of making a balance sheet of the life and work of the United Nations, in order to determine the state of relations between nations and between peoples, and envision the perspectives of evolution of those relations in order to respect and defend the interests of the masses, the sovereignty and independence of nations, for peace and for the progress of mankind in general.

But for us, peoples engaged in the struggle for national liberation, this year has another special significance. It is this year that we commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On this occasion we must seriously draw a balance sheet of the successes achieved and the setbacks suffered by the human community in the struggle against the retrograde forces of colonialism and imperialism, of racialism and fascism.

If we do this, if we try to find out, in particular, the causes of the setbacks suffered by humanity in its struggle for freedom and social well being, if we look at the weakness in the orientation and work of the United Nations, then we will, no doubt, find adequate solutions, in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Yes, this is the only way that will enable the various peoples, and the Mozambican people in particular, to attain the aim they had in mind when they took up arms—the only way history left us to destroy colonialism and to gain national independence.

In the name of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people we address our fraternal greetings to the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee of 24, and we hope that your effort will correspond to historical circumstances and aspirations of our people. Allow us here to express our thanks to the Government of Tanzania which, by receiving your Committee, aims at seeking better ways of hastening the development of the struggle for national liberation.

Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Delegates,

It is worthwhile pointing out that the colonial fascist Government of Portugal, in spite of the many defeats

suffered, still continues its retrograde and reactionary policy of domination and oppression, openly trampling under foot the principles and decisions of the United Nations. We are not going to take much space and time to relate the crimes of Portuguese colonialism. Your Excellencies know them very well, for besides information from other sources, our own organisation had on many occasion the opportunity to expose them. Today we would like to emphasize the fact that the Portuguese colonialists have been intensifying and perfecting their means of destruction in their attempt to be contrary to the will of the people who have decided to fight until final victory. Thus, the Portuguese soldiers massacre innocent people or they take them to concentration camps—the so-called protective villages. People are savagely bombed with napalm bombs. The Portuguese army and air force make desperate efforts to destroy our cultivated fields. The Portuguese prisons are full of Mozambican patriots. That is to say, the Portuguese colonialists continue to perpetrate crimes against the Mozambican people, but now employing methods, vast and modern, as for example the extensive use of aircraft, especially jet aircraft.

In pointing out the perfecting and development of the methods of destruction employed by Portugal, we want above all to indicate that the means which are at her disposal to sustain the struggle in her colonies in Africa are not provided by herself alone. Because if that were true, Portugal would never be able to carry on concurrently three colonial wars: in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. And here lies the other aspect of the crimes of Portuguese colonialism: they continue to be possible because a large number of western powers, in particular powers who are members of NATO, continue



The FRELIMO Delegation

to furnish Portugal with political, military and financial support. Countries such as the United States of America, West Germany, France, Italy, England, Belgium, Holland, etc. continue to furnish arms, aircraft, helicopters, warships, submarines, and the guarantee to Portugal to provide financial loans, military technical assistance, medical aid, and so on; finally, these countries continue to invest capital in our country. In this way, these powers not only furnish basic aid to Portugal, but above all, contribute to the maintenance and political consolidation of supremacy of the white minority in Southern Africa; that is, they contribute to the consolidation of the regimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. In this sense, the project of the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam is today the more eloquent expression of this colonialist and imperialist political attitude. Cahora Bassa is a crime. It is a crime not only against the Mozambican people, but also against the entire people of Southern Africa and Africa as a whole. The complicity of the Western powers in the realization of the construction project of the Cahora Bassa dam has provoked the indignation of the popular forces of the world, in particular the popular forces of these same western countries. A vast movement of solidarity is developing in the world, especially envisaging the impediment of the dam construction. This movement of solidarity comes to support precisely the positions and decisions of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people. In this respect, we would like to register here our appreciation and recognition to the Government of Sweden for the position it took in persuading the ASEA Company to annul its participation in the construction of the dam, and to declare openly its support to the movements of national liberation. In the same way, we wish to salute the decision of the Government of Italy in cancelling its financial contribution to the dam. We hope that the Italian government will find efficacious means to persuade the Societa Anonima Electrificazione of Milan to withdraw from the Cahora Bassa project. We must also extend our recognition to those progressive forces in England which exerted sufficient pressure upon the company English Electric that brought its decision to exclude itself from the dam project. On this occasion, we must salute with deep feeling His Excellency Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, for his intervention with some western governments which resulted particularly in the withdrawal of the Italian government from the Cahora Bassa project. The action of His Excellency President Kaunda manifests a high sentiment of solidarity, and constitutes an act of revolutionary militancy in the defence of Africa—an act of justice and freedom.

PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL MOZAMBIQUE DEVELOPMENT AND AID FUND

Having many countries on the Committees and in the General Assembly voted in favour of self-determination and independence of the countries under Portuguese domination, we think that with the creation of a Mozambique Development and Aid Fund, the United Nations would be assisting in a concrete and principled way the liberation of the people of Mozambique from the Portuguese colonial yoke. If such a fund cannot be established in the name of the United Nations, we would appreciate it if this Committee could endorse it and make a strong appeal to the member states of the UN to contribute to it.

Purpose of the Fund

The purpose of the fund will be to assist FRELIMO with all aspects of the programmes for national reconstruction and development in the liberated areas of Mozambique. These programmes can roughly be divided into three headings:

- a) Agriculture, Cottage Industry and Commerce
- b) Public Health
- c) Education
- a) Agriculture, Cottage Industry and Commerce

The most urgent requirements of the peasants in the liberated areas are for basic agricultural implements such as pangas and hoes. When the Portuguese administration was forced to abandon the North, they also withdrew all commercial services with the result that all goods usually supplied by traders became unobtainable. FRELIMO has had to take over the responsibility of ensuring that essential supplies reach the population.

A more complex problem is that the whole pattern of agriculture had to be reorganised. Under the Portuguese, agriculture was organised on a typically colonial pattern; compulsory cultivation of cash crops where the people worked their own land, forced labour on the large estates, both designed to yield the highest possible profits for the Portuguese. In the liberated areas, FRELIMO has put an end to these practices and is now trying to organise agriculture for the maximum benefit of the people. Land has been redistributed, co-operatives formed and where possible technical advice is given. To make this programme more effective, we need facilities to train personnel in the management of co-operatives and agricul-

ture methods. In order to introduce improved methods we need some funds to answer special needs, such as extra seeds, improved seeds insecticides, etc.

The withdrawal of commercial services described in the previous section has effected all sides of life in the liberated areas. Consumer essentials such as soap, salt, sugar, oil, textiles, etc., have to be provided by FRELIMO. At present most of these goods have to be imported, both with the proceeds gained by selling a small surplus or agricultural goods. It is FRELIMO policy, however, to provide for the local production of such products as salt, oil, clothing and shoes. Already, some agricultural and household implements are made locally but these activities have to be greatly expanded and new techniques introduced. In particular the manufacture of soap, the processing and weaving of cotton and the production of rope should be introduced, the manufacture of clothing and leather goods established. For such programmes we need equipment: small moveable plants for the manufacture of oil and soap, sewing machines, tools for wood and leather working. We also need funds and trained personnel to provide training programmes. Two types of training programmes are called for: technical training in specific skills; skills required for the production of articles by cottage industry and also those required for the maintenance and repair of any specialized equipment used in the liberated zones. These programmes would include sewing and dress-making, shoe-making, carpentry, and wood work, metal work, the processing of cotton, weaving, rope making, watch repairing, radio repairing, commercial courses to provide personnel to manage and co-ordinate the production and trade activities. These would include book-keeping and the management of cottage industries.

FRELIMO has already been studying some of the natural resources of the liberated areas, in particular hard-woods, rubber, tobacco and cotton. However, technical advice and training is needed to develop and expand this work; so finance and equipment will be needed in order to exploit such resources.

The artwork of the people of Mozambique is well known internationally: iron and silverwork, weaving and especially the hard-wood sculptures of the Makonde. These works could prove an important source of foreign exchange, but FRELIMO needs means and trained personnel in order to build an efficient organisation for marketing these goods and ensuring

fair profits for the people who produce them.

b) Public Health

In the field of public health, as in commerce the Portuguese withdrew all their services, leaving a total vacuum which FRELIMO had to fill. FRELIMO has organised a health service which provides a number of rural health centres. These are closely linked with each other so that cases can be transferred, when necessary, from a centre with very rudimentary equipment to one with better facilities. There is a training programme attached to the Mozambique Institute which provides personnel to run these services.

However, these activities are severely limited by lack of funds and equipment. More centres are needed, existing centres need more equipment and more and better drugs, the training programmes need to be greatly expanded, both in the number of people trained, as in the breadth and scope of the training. To do this, staff and finance are urgently called for.

The FRELIMO Health Service in the liberated areas has given a great deal of attention to preventive medicine: vaccination campaigns are in progress now and efforts are made to spread instruction about general matters of hygiene. Here again, lack of the necessary vaccines, or the funds with which to buy them limits the effectiveness of this work. Vaccination campaigns already carried out have shown that, through the highly developed organisation of the Party, maximum cooperation can be expected from the population. The only obstacle to achieve universal vaccination is the scarcity of vaccines. Thus, in this field as well, outside help could considerably expand the scope of our work.

c) Education

In all the previous sections the need for more training facilities has been stressed. Under the Portuguese, the education of the African populations was almost completely denied and the result of this is that all development programmes are hampered by desperate shortage of personnel with even the most basic educational qualifications. To overcome this, the primary schools which FRELIMO has opened in the liberated areas must be improved and expanded in order to provide the personnel of tomorrow. To meet our needs now, however, extensive literacy campaigns among the adult population are called for. The following is an indication of the kind of basic essentials constantly lacking: blackboards, paper, pencils, text-books, etc. Besides all this, the pupils and staff of schools are self-supporting, but what they cannot produce themselves they have to be provided with.

Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Delegates,

It is not our intention to solicit weapons from the United Nations. We know very well that this is beyond its real possibilities. But we already presented to this Committee of 24 suggestions and proposals which, if they were accepted, would constitute a valuable contribution to the work of national reconstruction undertaken by our people in the liberated areas. This action covers the social and economic sectors which fit perfectly into the sphere of the concerns and the possibilities defined by the United Nations itself. Thus, our needs are already known by this Special Committee, and here in Dar es Salaam, we had the occasion to submit last year, for your appreciation, a proposal for the establishment of an Aid and Development Fund for Mozambique, foreseeing precisely the satisfaction of those same needs.

Yet today, those necessities not only continue to exist, but they have grown, making themselves even more pressing.

Unfortunately we have not received any response from the United Nations concerning these proposals.

To be honest with ourselves, we must ask the question: what do we hope for from the United Nations?

Or perhaps: how can we work together with the United Nations to put into practice those principles and decisions?

Up to today, the United Nations has constituted for us, above all, a platform from which we could make ourselves heard: on one side denouncing the crimes of Portuguese colonialism, and the complicities which it enjoys together with the western powers, in particular those powers who are members of NATO; and, on the other side, giving publicity to our successes, especially in the field of National reconstruction which we are carrying out in the liberated zones—an action through which the Mozambican people have amply demonstrated their creative genius and their capacity to guide their own destiny.

But is it not possible to persuade the United Nations to extend material aid to the people living in the liberated zones? Are not Specialized Agencies of the United Nations able to help the populations of the liberated areas to realize the programmes of national reconstruction? Does the difficulty reside in the fact that aid to the people of the liberated territory must be furnished through FRELIMO? But is it not true that FRELIMO does, in fact, control these zones? Portugal has already been expelled from WHO and from UNESCO, etc. If that happened, it was because it was fully verified that Portugal was not representing the interests of the African people and did not respect the principles of the United Nations. Besides, the United Nations



Manufacturing agricultural tools.

already recognised the right of our people to self-determination and independence, thus legitimizing the struggle for national liberation. Finally, the politico-administrative power in the liberated zones is exercised by FRELIMO, it is through FRELIMO alone that help can be channelled to the people. Then where lies the obstacle which impedes the action of Specialized Agencies of the United Nations?

Still again, this is the year of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration of Decolonisation.

It is not possible to move the General Assembly of the United Nations to vote a special budget to aid people who, finding themselves still under colonial aggression, decidedly engaged in the combat for national liberation, implementing that self-same Declaration of the United Nations concerning decolonization? Here, Honourable Delegates, are some questions which require an answer and a common decision. As we have already said, what is fundamental for us is to gather the moral and material energies that will achieve the liberation of the Mozambican people. By these actions we are certain that we are working for the construction of a better world. Our people, under the direction of FRELIMO, are firmly committed to this combat, and they will know how, until its end, to carry on their obligation.

MESSAGE

to His Excellency, Comrade Huynh Tan Phat, President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

Comrade,

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government which was hailed and recognised by all progressive peoples of the world as the only legitimate representative of the people of South Vietnam, FRELIMO, the fighters and people of Mozambique send their warmest greetings to the NLF, government and people of South Vietnam. The people of Mozambique salute the people of South Vietnam in their revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence against US imperialism. Under the wise leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the people of South Vietnam have been able to deal heavy blows on the enemy and have scored victory after victory in their noble fight for freedom and national independence. Confronted by an unconquerable people, the USA has extended its war of aggression from South Vietnam to the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and now to Cambodia, and at the same time have intensified their aggression against the Laotian people. Thus, in the face of their common enemy, it is only natural that the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia should join together and fight side by side in defence of their rights to liberty and independence. The Declaration of the Peoples of Indo-China is the demonstration of the will of the peoples of Indo-China never to rest until all foreign intervention is driven from their countries and revolutionary peace and prosperity reign. This is the highest form of solidarity they

can show to the oppressed peoples of the world.

The South Vietnamese people, guided by the correct ideological line of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, are playing a vital part in forcing imperialism out of Indo-China. But the victories gained in Vietnam are not only of importance to Indo-China, they are an invaluable contribution to the international fight against imperialism and colonialism; against fascism and racism; and against the exploitation of man by man.

The Mozambican people appreciate fully the struggle being waged in Vietnam, for they, too, are making their contribution to this struggle, and led by FRELIMO are fighting the enemy in an effort to liberate themselves and free their fatherland from Portuguese colonialism.

Thus, the Mozambican people hail the Vietnamese people in their valiant struggle; and in a spirit of friendship and revolutionary solidarity we greet you and wish you all success in your heroic war against imperialism, for your victory will be as our victory and your triumph a triumph for all peoples who fight against fascism, imperialism and colonialism.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT
(FRELIMO)
6th June 1970

THE STRUGGLE IN OTHER "PORTUGUESE" COLONIES

GUINEA-BISSAU

The struggle of our comrades from Guinea-Bissau led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (P.A.I.G.C.) is characterized by the continuous development of large-scale attacks against Portuguese posts and strongholds, parallel to the process of national reconstruction in the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau.

The colonialists intensify their criminal bombing of schools, hospitals and villages in the liberated areas. Only recently, on the 2nd February 1970, they bombed a school in Iador, killing 8 schoolchildren and wounding 17; and on the 30th March, they bombed the school of Tambico, killing 7 and wounding 8 children.

At the same time, being defeated in the battlefield in Guinea-Bissau, they attempt to escalate the war by following the example of their U.S. masters. Thus they have launched several attacks against border villages in Guinea-Konakry and Senegal.

PEOPLE'S VICTORIES

These desperate actions of the Portuguese colonialists are proof of the successes of the peoples, forces led by PAIGC. In fact, our comrades in Guinea-Bissau are inflicting heavy defeats on the enemy, both in men and in material. For example, last February, on the road S. Vicente-Bula, 25 Portuguese soldiers were killed, 6 lorries destroyed and a fortified post completely wiped out. North of Farim, the enemy tried to break the encirclement of their posts by the P.A.I.G.C. forces. But they failed and suffered instead constant defeats, namely in the regions of Sambuia, Faquina, Samba-Uleucunda, Suzana, Guidage, N'gore, Candjambari and Barro.

A recently installed camp in Uali-cunda, near the Northern border, was completely destroyed. The enemy fled, leaving behind 9 killed and a large amount of war material.

Important actions also took place against fortified garrisons in Mansoa and Farim. On the 22nd February, a commando of the people's liberation

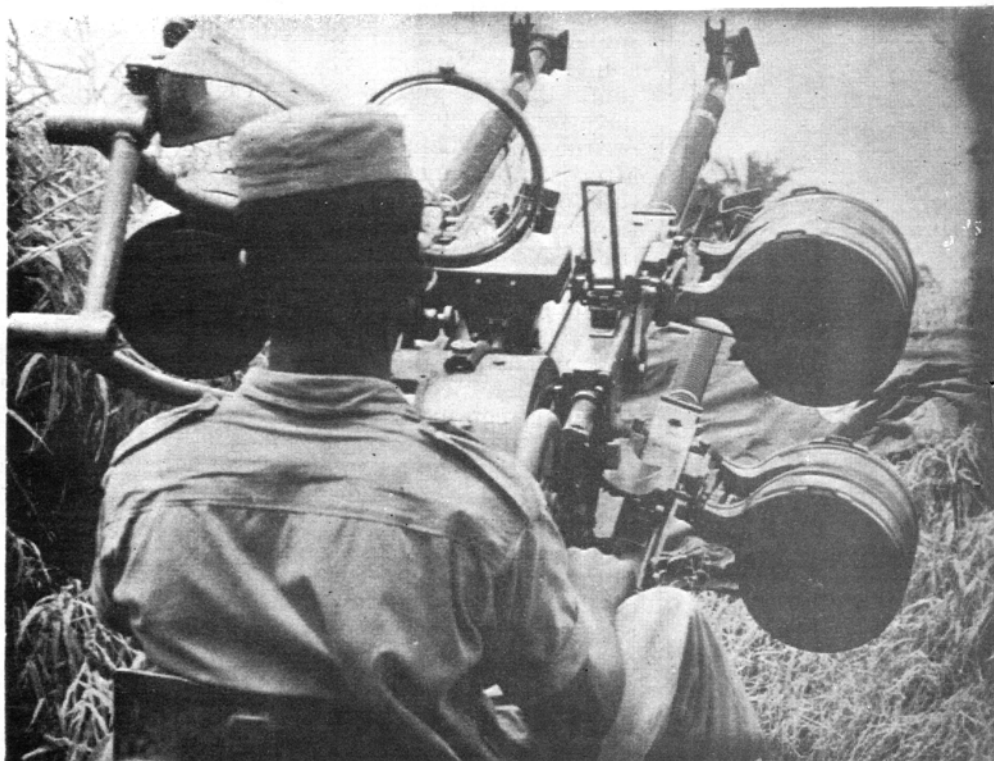
forces entered Ceba and destroyed several buildings where colonialist troops were housed, killing 7 of them. On the 27th February, at the Eastern Front, a mortar attack against the Portuguese camp of Buruntuma resulted in the death of many colonialist soldiers. A ship was sunk in the river Geba, a few kilometres from the port of Bambadinca. At the Southern front the enemy, immobilised in their barracks, has been submitted constantly to heavy bombing, especially in Guiledje, Gauture, Bedanda, Catio and Buba.

During the first fortnight of March, the Portuguese military base of Guiledje was attacked 18 times; on the 7th March a French helicopter Alouette II, which was directing the fire of the enemy artillery, was shot down. The Portuguese military bases of Catio, Bupa, Manpata, Bedanda and Canture were heavily bombed by the guerrilla forces.

On the 6th March, Portuguese marines tried to attack a motor boat of PAIGC. The guerillas counter-attacked and damaged heavily the enemy warship "Botchocol" in the region of Kitafine; at least 9 colonialist soldiers were killed.

At the beginning of the present year, 3 Portuguese marines deserted, following the example of many others. By their desertion, these soldiers showed their opposition to the colonial war being waged by their government. They said they had deserted because they do not want to become criminals, by assassinating women, children and old men. They believe that the colonial war in Guinea-Bissau is a crime not only against the Guinean people, but also against the Portuguese people themselves, by condemning the Portuguese youth to death for the benefit of a handful of millionaires who want to continue exploiting the African countries and people.

P.A.I.G.C. fighters defending Guinean (B.) skies



ANGOLA

Our comrades from Angola, under the direction of the M.P.L.A., are winning decisive victories. A communiqué recently issued by the MPLA reveals that during the months of January and February 1970 the offensive operations of the MPLA fighters on the Eastern Front—Third Region and some Sectors of the Fourth Region—were outstanding for the progress made in advancing into new areas and attacking enemy garrisons, sowing panic, chaos and complete demoralisation in the fascist ranks of the colonial army.

at Cazage, Longa, Luachi, Lunachi, Kalunda, Sandando, Teixeira de Sousa, Cavungu, Ninda, Serpa Pinto, Gago Coutinho, Coutade do Mucusso, Marco 25, Cassai Gare, Lumege, Leua, Lovua, Mucondo, Cazombo, Tichafinda, Tchilombe, Muia, and kangamba, as well as Kibaxe, Ucuia, Bula Atumba, Kitexe, Negage, Kamahatela, Aldeia Vicosa and Vista Alegre, in Northern Angola and also Miconge Sabgamongo, Sangamiconge and Sangaplanicie in Cabinda among many places.

A summary of military activities for January and February 1970, in Sectors

M.P.L.A.

GUERRILLAS



COLONIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Held at bay like wild beasts by the MPLA guerrillas, the Portuguese colonialists proceeded to plunder the civilian population, robbing them scant possessions (dishes, clay pots, blankets and grass huts), and to loot Zambian goods in transit through Angola (wine money, tobacco, petrol and various machines). Having actually lost control of the settler population, the fascist authorities became involved in ridiculous contradictions ascribing the guerrillas' victories to the Republic of Zambia and at the same time admitting to the attacks carried out by MPLA guerrillas

of the Third and Fourth Regions, contained in the MPLA communiqué reports that there were 9 attacks on colonialist barracks, 2 boats sunk, 11 ambushes and encounters, 12 vehicles destroyed, 147 Portuguese soldiers killed, 48 puppets eliminated, 4 traitors shot, 841 people liberated from colonialist strategic hamlets, and varied equipment and ammunition captured.

ENEMY ISOLATED

The number of attacks on barracks confirms the MPLA's repeated denunciation of the fact that the colonialist troops have entrenched themselves in

their barracks, only coming out sporadically to commit criminal acts against the civilian population and their property.

The decrease of ambushes and direct encounters shows the MPLA control of the terrain over which the forces of occupation venture only when they are heliported and covered by the aircraft by South Africa and imperialist NATO countries.

The MPLA, the Angolan guerrillas, are therefore carrying out the watchword calling for the extension and intensification of the armed struggle and they are advancing decisively to victory.

PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

THESE are the minimized losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and press from November 1st, 1969, to January 27th, 1970.

	KILLED		WOUNDED
	Armed Forces	Militia	Militia
Guinea	58	—	—
Angola	68	62	107
Mozambique	99	—	—
	225	62	107

Numbers for the wounded are not always available. The sum total for twelve weeks is 287 killed and 107 wounded. There were 123 members of the militia reported missing in Angola.

20,000 CRIPPLED MEN

On December 12th, the deputy Correia Cunha pointed out that there were now in Portugal 20,000 men—crippled or blinded in the African wars—who should be trained and given adequate jobs (*Diário das Sessões*, 12.12.69).

NEWS ITEMS

NATO

Tentative suggestions were made, at a meeting of NATO countries in Brussels, that the time might have come to draw up a list of matters which could, with profit, be discussed with East European countries (i.e. the countries against which NATO was set up in the first place). The Portuguese delegate indirectly rejected any such constructive proposals (which, at any rate, could hardly have had any hopes of being implemented given the belligerent nature of the Organization) by attempting to place the aims of NATO in the context of a 'world-wide confrontation between East and West' and thus, once again, asked for the more direct help of the Organization in the repression of nationalists in the Portuguese colonies (*P.J.* 8.11.69). The notion that Portugal is extending the NATO spirit to Africa was stressed again, at a further meeting of the Organization, by the Portuguese Minister of Defence (*P.J.* 9.12.69).

MILITARY GRAZE

Portugal, the country with the lowest standard of living in Western Europe, is allocating at least 44 per cent of her annual budget, to military expenditure.

The increase in this expenditure since 1949 is shown by the following table:

Year	£ Million
1949	17.7m
1954	26.3m
1960	37.8m
1961	61.5m
1962	71.8m
1963	71.5m
1964	80.6m
1965	83.5m
1966	92.4m
1967	136.8m
1968	147.6m
1969	148.0m*

*Estimate

UNITED NATIONS

On November 28th last the Senegalese representative at the U.N. demanded a meeting of the Security Council to deal with an attack by the Portuguese Army on November 25th against the Senegalese village of Samine, near the border with the Portuguese colony of Guinea (Bissau.)

On December 4th the Republic of Guinea representative made a similar complaint concerning an attack by Portuguese troops against two Guinea villages.

On December 10th the Security Council approved by 13 votes in favour, with two abstentions (United States and Spain) a resolution condemning the Portuguese attacks against Senegal. On December 30th President Senghor of Senegal stated in Dakar that his country would reply to any further shelling of its villages by Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau.

On December 22nd last the Security Council approved, by 9 votes in favour with six abstentions (Britain, United States, France, Spain, Formosa and Colombia), a resolution condemning the Portuguese attacks against the Republic of Guinea.

On December 12th last the U.N. General Assembly approved by 87 votes against 1, with 23 abstentions, a resolution on Southern Africa which specifically condemned Portugal for its inhuman treatment of political prisoners in her African colonies. The following day the same Assembly approved by 76 votes against 5 (Britain, United States, South Africa, Portugal and Argentina) a resolution asking all the U.N. agencies to support the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. The resolution recommended that international organisations such as that of the Civil Aviation (ICAO) and the Universal Postal Union should cease all collaboration with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

* * *

Rhodesia has donated another 300 thousand cigarettes to Portuguese troops fighting in Angola. (*Vida Mundial*, 12.12.69).



The late FRELIMO President, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, and Comrade Samora Machel in liberated Mozambique.

PLEDGE

TO THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE MOZAMBIQUE PEOPLE'S
FORCES, COMRADE EDUARDO MONDLANE

Portuguese colonialism, allied to international imperialism, have assassinated you.

But the armed struggle for national liberation, which you initiated will be continued until complete independence. The road to freedom which you have shown us so clearly will be followed by us until the final battle.

The echo of the weapons that you made heard on the 25th September 1964 and through which you reaffirmed in the name of the people our dignity and our determination, will continue in the fire of the combats, sewing nightmares among the reactionary forces.

The spirit of dedication and devotion to the struggle that you showed during your life will serve as orientation for each fighter of the People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique.

Your Spirit of sacrifice and firmness in the fight against all types of enemies will be for us, fighters of the People's Forces, an example and a guide which will temper us in our daily life.

The flame which you have lighted in our country will be kept alive in the barrels of our guns, in our hearts, and in the revolutionary spirit of our people. It will lighten the whole of our Africa.

Rest in peace in the silent grave that hides from us your shining African wisdom, rest in peace because we will keep alive your memory and your spirit. Because you have created us and inspired us with your intelligence and your vision.

Your revolutionary dedication to national unity as the fundamental weapon with which to defeat the enemy will be the major concern of each of us.

The struggle continues.

Samora M. Machel
Secretary of the Defence Department
3rd February 1969

